

INDO-ARYAN ORIGIN OF GONDI CUD(ḍ)- " SMALL "

Proto-Dravidian (PDr.) initial *c- is represented in the Gondi dialects (*Voc.*, p. 77) by s- in the northern and western dialects, h- in the south and east, and zero (o) in the farthest SE dialects, viz. Hill Maṛia and Koya. A few sporadic occurrences of s-, h-, o outside of the dialect limits that would be « regular » are probably evidence that the successive changes (*c- > s- > h- > o) spread through the lexicon unevenly. This must be the explanation also of the retention of *c- as the affricate c- in a few items in the Adilabad-Yeotmal dialect.

On the other hand, items which show retention of c- widely throughout the dialects (with very occasional occurrences of the expected changes) belong to two groups: (1) expressives, (2) borrowings from other languages, viz. Telugu, Indo-Aryan Marathi, Hindi, and Oriya, and Munda. Fuller discussion of these matters is undertaken elsewhere¹. The second group includes the Gondi word for « small, little, young(er) », *cud(ḍ)*-, investigation of which requires such elaboration that separate presentation is desirable.

The most widespread words for « small, little, young(er) » in the Gondi dialects are those found in *Voc.*, no. 1347², with base *cud(ḍ)*-. The forms in the northern and western dialects have

1. In a forthcoming general study of PDr. *c- and its developments.

2. This entry in *Voc.*, with its etymological note by the authors, was the stimulus for research into this problem. The abbreviations for the sources of Gondi dialect forms are those used in *Voc.* and DEDR.

initial *c-*, i.e. the palatal affricate, instead of *s-* which is the expected development of PDr. **c-* in these dialects: (Betul [Tr.] *cuḍ(ḍ)ur*, *cuḍḍol*, (Mandla [W and Ph]) *cuḍur*, *cuḍor*, (Adilabad-Yeotmal) *cuḍur* ([ASu.] *cuḍḍūr*, *cuṛūr*). Initial *s-* (< **c-*) would be expected to show development to *h-* in the southern and eastern dialects of Chanda and northern Bastar (Muria), and then to zero in the farthest SE dialects (Hill Maṛia and Koya). The « small » words show *h-* in Chanda ([D and G] *huḍla*) and the Muria dialect (*huḍila*, etc.); Dandāmi Maṛia has both *cuḍla* and *huḍla*. Of the zero dialects, Hill Maṛia has *uḍila*, while Koya has unexpectedly *cuḍul*, with *c-* retained.

The basic form is *cuḍ(ḍ)-* with *r* and *l* derivative suffixes, which are not yet to be completely explained (though one may note the antonym, no. 1543, Adilabad-Yeotmal *ḍagur* « big, great », ASu. *ḍaggūr*, with no known etymology). The suffix *-k*, which replaces *r* or *l*, is the plural suffix (Mandla [Ph] pl. *cuḍuhk*, Adilabad [ASu.] pl. *cuḍḍūk* Dandāmi Maṛia and Muria *huḍuk* « few »).

For *cuḍ(ḍ)-* there is no Dravidian etymology.

It has been suggested with a query (*Voc.*, s.v.) that the Gondi forms are derived from Indo-Aryan. The notation is: « cf. Pkt. *chuḍḍa* small », which leads one to CDIAL 3712, Sanskrit *kṣudrā-* « minute » AV., *kṣudraka-* « small » Mn. The continuants of *kṣudra-* with few exceptions have initial *kh-*, e.g. Pali *khudda-*, Prakrit *khudda-*, *khuḍḍa-*, Bengali *khudiyā*, Assamese *khūd*. Most of the modern languages have only derivatives with specialized meanings (e.g. Bengali *khud*, Oriya *khuda* « broken rice », Hindi *khūd* « dregs, refuse »), forms with the general meaning « small, little » being derived from other sources (CDIAL 4781 **cikka-*, e.g. Skt. *cikka-gaja-* « young elephant », Prakrit *cikka-* « small », Marathi *cikkar* id.; CDIAL 5071 **chōṭṭa-*, only in modern Indo-Aryan, e.g. Hindi *choṭā*, Gujarati *choṭū*, Bengali and Oriya *choṭa*; CDIAL 12732 *ślakṣṇā-*, e.g. Marathi *lahān*; cf. also some items like Marathi *thoḍā* in CDIAL 13720 *stōkā-*).

The few forms from Skt. *kṣudra-* with initial *ch-* are Prakrit *chuḍḍa-*, which is quoted in *Voc.*, and Aśokan *chuda-*, *chudaka-* (= *chudda-*, *chuddaka-*), as found in the Girnar (Kathiawar) inscriptions (whereas Aśokan parallels elsewhere have *kh-*), plus one modern West Pahāri form with *ch-*. The Prakrit form is

quoted from Sheth's dictionary; his reference is to the Jain *upāṅga* Aupapātika-sūtra (Uvavāiya-sutta), which, as the edition³ shows, has in fact *chuḍḍiya*- « a small bell used as an ornament », and that only in a rather less than authoritative addition found in several manuscripts. That this form is relevant is guaranteed by such Sanskrit equivalents as *kṣudrikā ghaṇṭā* and *kṣudraghaṇṭikā* (*ghaṇṭā*- « bell »). More straightforward evidence is provided by the Aśokan forms, which occur with the meaning « small » in contrast with words for « great ».

The derivatives of *kṣudra*- present phonological problems, in that *kṣ*- is represented in the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) forms by either *kh*- or *ch*-, and *-dr*- by either *-dd*- or *-ḍḍ*-. There is so much dialect mixture in all MIA and Modern Indo-Aryan (NIA) data that there is difficulty in attaining certainty of statement. However, two great Indo-Aryanists of this century, Jules Bloch and Sir Ralph (R. L.) Turner, have produced for *kṣ*- general statements which we may turn to. Bloch⁴ finds on the basis of epigraphical and other evidence that *kṣ*- was represented by *kh*- in the eastern Prakrits and by *ch*- in those of the NW and west (cf. the Girnar Aśokan forms quoted above), and (p. 114) that Marathi and Gujarati in this respect were western. Turner⁵ carries the matter historically somewhat further, but agrees with Bloch with regard to the statement just quoted. He adds that Ardhamāgadhī (the basic language of the Jain canon, that of the Aupapātika-sūtra form quoted above) had *ch* forms (for *kṣ*) « more common[ly] » than does Śaurasenī (which, the Prakrit prose of the dramas, is a *kh*- dialect), « but these may be due to the greater influence on Ardhamāgadhī of Māhārāṣṭrī [i.e. Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, the dialect of the non-canonical Svetāmbara Jain Prakrit texts] ». This distribution of *ch*- and *kh*- from *kṣ*- would localize the IA origin of Gondi *cuḍḍ*-, if it is IA in origin, in the « western » part of the IA territory, i.e. in this instance in the Marathi area with which Gondi in part coincides.

3. Leumann, 1883.

4. 1915, p. 112, § 104.

5. 1936; 1975, pp. 348-9.

On the other hand, no such neat geographical statement has been (or perhaps can be) made for *-dr-* > *-dd-* or *-ḍḍ-*. Bloch⁶ makes the general statement that dental + *r* normally in NIA yields a dental except in Sindhi. Pischel⁷ gives an extensive list of text references for MIA *kh-* derivatives of *kṣudra-*, which seems to show that the Jain Prakrits, including Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, normally have *khudda*⁸ and that *khudda-* occurs in Pāli and (only rarely) in Ardhamāgadhī. However, practically all the NIA derivatives show a dental resultant (whatever may be their meaning specializations). The NIA exceptions are the West Pahāri form *chuṛo* (already referred to as having *ch-*) and Singhalese *kuḍā* « small » and *kuḍa*, *kuḍu* « dust »⁹. The latter language has an alternative *kudu* « small », which Turner (CDIAL, s.v. *kṣudrā-*) explains as «← Pa[li] », i.e. as derived from or influenced by Pāli *khudda-*; Turner (CDIAL Addenda, no. 14421) lists *kudi* « small » as the form in the Maldivian dialect of Singhalese. West Pahāri is a « western » language, and Singhalese is in many details « western »; the retroflex in their forms may be a « western » feature¹⁰.

Although the Marathi record does not have a resultant of *kṣudra-* « small », it is possible to surmise that in its territory

6. 1915, p. 127, § 120.

7. 1900, p. 202, § 294.

8. On this form Jules Bloch (as translated by Alfred Master, 1965, p. 60) says: 'Pkt. *khudda-* from Skt. *kṣudra-* ... this may have acted as in As. [i.e. Aśoka] *osudha-*', i.e. he assumes assimilation of dental to retroflex ṣ.

9. GEIGER 1898-9, p. 199, no. 357; 1935, p. xxii, § 21.

10. In the matter of *kṣ* > *ch*, Turner (1936; 1975, pp. 348-9) says: 'there is some evidence that the ancestor of Singhalese ... was a *ch* language', with reference to Geiger's listing of *kh* and *ch* forms (1900, p. 42, § 16). Geiger (*ibid.*) does not list the forms for 'small' with *k* < *kh*, although he lists them (1898-9, p. 199, no. 357; 1935, p. xxii, § 21) in exemplifying the Singhalese alternate developments of *-dr-* as *d* and *ḍ*. Would it be going too far to suggest, on the basis of Turner's hypothesis, that the 'ancestor of Singhalese' must have had a form of the type **chuḍḍ-* and that *ch-* (which yields Singhalese *s-*) must have been replaced by *k-* under Pāli influence? Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *cūḍa-*, Pāli *cūḷa-* 'small' have been neglected in this discussion, since the vowel quantity makes connection of the Gondī forms improbable; as Turner says (CDIAL 4877 **culla*-² 'small'), derivation of *cūḍa-* from *kṣudra-* is ruled out (on phonetic grounds, by the initial *c-* rather than *ch-*).

there was once a form with the « western » *ch*- resultant of *kṣ*-, and with the *-ḍḍ*- resultant of *-dr*- that is attested for this word by the Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī forms in Pischel's list (*khuddāya*, *khuddīyā*), by the West Pahārī *churo*, and the Singhalese *kuḍā*, *kuda*, *kuḍu*. I.e. we could reconstruct **chudda*- for the territory now occupied by Marathi. The Marathi records (as said above) do not have any evidence for such a form, but, if we are to find an Indo-Aryan origin for Gondi *cuḍ(ḍ)*-, this reconstruction would seem to be the only plausible one.

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